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RELEASED IN FULL

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001W
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P 010835Z APR 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6111

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 01434

STADIS

AF ONLY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TA4S: KDEM, PHUM, EAID, RW
SUBJECT: ASSESSING U.S. NGO PERFORMANCE UNDER AREAF

REF: STATE 081874

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. EMBASSY KIGALI HAS HAD NO/NO EXPERIENCE WITH AREAF PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION. HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD SOME CONTACT WITH THE PROCESS THAT MAY BE OF INTEREST TO THE ROUND TABLE ASSESSMENT.
3. KIGALI'S JOINT STATE-AID REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE UNDER AREAF (92 KIGALI 3546 -- AUGUST), WHEN ELECTIONS WERE EXPECTED BY MARCH 1993 TO END A

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YEAR-LONG TRANSITION PERIOD, WENT UNANSWERED. WE DID NOT PRESS THE ISSUE, HOWEVER, BECAUSE IT WAS CLEAR BY LATE 1992 THAT THIS TIMETABLE WOULD SLIP AND A NEW ONE WOULD BE DEPENDENT ON THE OUTCOME OF PROTRACTED PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. WE HAVE CONDUCTED AN ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN DIALOGUE WITH NDI, ONE OF THE AREAF NGO PARTNERS, SINCE THE FIRST NDI TEAM VISIT IN JUNE 1992. A PARTY-BUILDING PROJECT CONCEIVED WITH NDI DURING A FIRST VISIT -- PRE-AREAF -- WAS APPROVED FOR FUNDING (DOLS 125,000) IN OCTOBER 1992 AS AN AREAF PROJECT. THE TIMEFRAME FOR IMPLEMENTATION, TARGETED FOR NOVEMBER 1992 TO EARLY 1993, KEPT GETTING PUSHED BACK, HOWEVER, AS THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS DRAGGED ON. AS FAR AS WE KNOW, THIS PROJECT IS STILL ON THE BOOKS. IT IS OUR INTENTION

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TO ESTABLISH A NEW TARGET DATE AS SOON AS THE
TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS CALLED FOR IN THE AUGUST
PEACE ACCORD ARE INSTALLED.

5. DURING NDI'S SECOND VISIT TO KIGALI, IN DECEMBER
1992, WE DISCUSSED WITH THE TEAM NOT ONLY THE
PROPOSED PARTY-BUILDING SEMINAR AND ITS TIMING, BUT
ALSO THE LARGER PLAN FOR ELECTIONS PREPARATIONS
ASSISTANCE UNDER AREAFA. NDI EXPRESSED A WILLINGNESS
TO CONSIDER BASING A COORDINATOR IN KIGALI, AS
REQUESTED IN THE CABLE MENTIONED IN PARA 2, BUT
AGAIN, THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS FAILED TO EVOLVE
AT THE PACE ANTICIPATED. THIS, TOO, WE WILL WANT TO
EXPLORE ONCE A GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE.

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6. GIVEN OUR LACK OF EXPERIENCE WITH AREAFA AND ITS
NGO PARTNERS, WE CANNOT COMMENT ON MOST OF THE ISSUES
OUTLINED REFTTEL. HOWEVER, THERE IS ONE THAT WE WOULD
LIKE TO COMMENT ON: HOW EARLY TO GET INVOLVED AND
THE CRITERIA UPON WHICH THESE DECISIONS SHOULD BE
BASED.

QUILTING ACTIVITIES SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE ONCE MULTIPLE PARTIES EXIST. THE TRAINING
SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO HOW-TO INFORMATION (WHICH
ALL THE PARTIES IN RWANDA ERRONEOUSLY BELIEVED THEY
ALREADY KNEW FROM THEIR ONE PARTY EXPERIENCE). IT
SHOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO ADDRESS INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONS, RESPECT FOR THE IDEAS OF OTHERS, ACCEPTING
LOSSES, AND DEALING WITH THE INABILITY TO CONTROL
OUTCOMES IN A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. NDI RESPONDED
SKEPTICALLY TO THIS TYPE OF APPROACH AND ESSENTIALLY
DECLINED TO CONSIDER IT IN THEIR PROJECT. THESE
NOTIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE PROCESS; AND IF RWANDAN
POLITICAL LEADERS HAD BEEN MORE ENDUED, WE MIGHT HAVE
INSTALLED TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS BY NOW.

8. THE LATEST CABLE DESCRIBING THE CURRENT INTERESTS
OF AREAFA PARTNERS SUGGESTS THAT THE FOCUS IS SHIFTING
TO POST-ELECTION CONSOLIDATION. THIS IS CLEARLY
IMPORTANT, BUT ELECTIONS SHOULD NOT BE THE SOLE
CRITERIA FOR ASSISTANCE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT IS THE
ABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS TO FUNCTION
ACCORDING TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND NORMS. UNLESS
THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IS ENTRENCHED IN THE
INSTITUTIONS, ELECTIONS MAY HAVE EPHEMERAL RESULTS.

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9. RWANDA HAS PUT POPULAR ELECTIONS AT THE END OF
ITS TRANSITION PROCESS, NOT THE BEGINNING. BETWEEN
THE INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, WHERE MEMBERSHIP IS DETERMINED
ACCORDING TO A PARTY-BASED FORMULA WORKED OUT AT THE
PEACE TALKS, THE PEACE ACCORD CALLS FOR AN OVERHAUL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 01434

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SUBJECT: ASSESSING U.S. NGO PERFORMANCE UNDER AREA F

OF RWANDAN POLITICAL CULTURE. DURING THE TRANSITION,
IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ASSEMBLY
FUNCTION IN A WAY THAT ALLOWS FOR THE GIVE AND TAKE
THAT CONSTITUTE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

10. RWANDANS HAVE ALREADY DEMONSTRATED AN EAGERNESS
TO LEARN. A RECENT CONSULTANT, HERE TO LOOK AT WAYS
TO HELP STRENGTHEN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS UNDER OUR
USAID DEMOCRACY INITIATIVES IN GOVERNANCE (DIG)
PROJECT, SPENT LITERALLY HOURS AND HOURS TALKING WITH
DEPUTIES-DESIGNATE OF ONE GROUP (THE RPF) ABOUT HOW
TO MAKE THE TRANSITION ASSEMBLY WORK. HELPING THESE

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INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION WITHIN THE NORMS OF DEMOCRATIC
PRACTICE AND KEEPING THEM PROGRESSING TOWARDS FAIR
ELECTIONS. THUS, WE WOULD SUBMIT, STRENGTHENING
INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT -- WHETHER BEFORE OR
AFTER ELECTIONS -- IS CRITICAL.
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